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P.S. While writing this letter intelligence is borne to me from every side, that, now, my people have to make bark tents, hollow logs, crevices in rocks and isolated places, in general their homes. Because they refuse to acknowledge the usurping government of Hampton. They are refused employment, they cannot get anything to eat, and are awaiting the ripening of the fruits of the earth, such as strawberries, blackberries &c. Now if this is the way we are to be treated it would have been better if Mr. Tilden had obtained the presidential chair, for he would have had courage enough to consign us to our fate, and we would not be in this condition. If Mr. Hayes is laboring under so much doubt as to the selection of Chamberlain and Revere, that he cannot decide which of the governments in these disputed States is legal, then, he is, also, doubtful of his own election, and if he is, we hope that Mr. Tilden will issue a quo warranto against ^{him} and every republican will aid in ousting him from a position that he himself believes that he is not entitled to. He is holding out to the world that he has appointed colored men to positions, higher than any of his predecessors, as ^{a sign of} his devotion to our race, which we claim to be a poor plea while the masses of us are undergoing such severe and unjust punishment. It is unnecessary to aid three or four of us, and destroy the balance.

penitentiary for the remainder of life? I hope that no one will understand me to include all the democrats in the band that is guilty of such horrible deeds; but I do hope that every one will understand me to mean a majority of them. When the day of election arrived in many instances we went to the polls through the bullets and drawn sabres of the Rifle Clubs. But, though all of that we are confident that we have beaten the democrats, unless we are defrauded of our rights by the President. For, under the present condition of our State, we know that he has the power to recognize either of the governments, or neither of them and put the State under military law, and whatever course he might take no one would dare resist. But, I am sorry to say that after we have sealed our devotion to the cause of Mr. Hayes, with our life's blood at the cost of the lives of many of our noblest heroes, he seems very negligent about us, since he has obtained the presidential chair. Had Silden succeeded to the Presidency, although he and Hampton were not on good terms, yet, I do not believe that three (3) days would have passed before he would have declared Wade Hampton, Governor of this State, not in obedience to justice, but to the confidence that the party would in general, have in him. But, now as it is, we do not ask any such unwarranted action of the President, all that we ask of him is our liberty which we won at the ballot box on the seventh of November with our life's blood. It is true that the democrats did bribe and intimidate some of us; but counting the legal votes of South Carolinians the republican ticket has beaten by not less than seven or eight thousand majority. We are unwilling that the votes of Georgians and North Carolinians should elect a Governor to rule over us in South Carolina; nor, are we willing

I can cite a few instances to you, where some of my people have
 died martyrs for the cause of their principle and liberty. One of which
 will give you a slight idea of many others which time fails me to
 mention. In Barnwell County the Rifle Club took one of the
 heroes who were brave and bold enough to own their manhood,
 carried him off into the wilderness and told him if he did not
 deny ever being a republican and pledge himself to ever be
 a staunch advocate of the democratic party and its princi-
 ples they would put him to death; and when the hero informed
 them that he was born a republican, and expect to die one, his
 heart was blown out of his body by the bullets and doubtless
 eaten up by the cannibal-like crew. Nor have such vile
 deeds as this, not even since the election ceased to be perpetrated
 upon my people, where, they have been brave enough to obey
 the summons of the United States Commissioners sent to
 investigate the affairs of this State. This took place chiefly
 in the upper Counties, and doubtless, would be so in the lower
 if we were not so numerous and brave, that the democrats
 are too timid to undertake it just now, but as numerous
 and brave as we are, they are only awaiting and hoping for
 the time to come, when Hampton will be in undisputed
 possession of the gubernatorial chair, to visit us with
 what they term our "share". Which we expect to be more se-
 vere than that of the people of the upper Country, because, they
 consider our crimes to be greater. Can any reasonable man
 think otherwise, than that ^{we} despair of receiving any mercy at
 the hands of such men; who would so far as they are able, send such
 a man as M.C. Butler to the United States Senate, whom the people
 of a civilized State would either consign to the gallows or to the

that the votes of dead men, (for a great ^{number} of the votes of men who were
 killed in the last rebellion, were polled at the last election, either
 by fathers, brothers, or relatives, in addition to their own) should
 elect a Governor & rule the living. But we are willing to do one
 of two things. The Census of the citizens of this State, was taken in
 the year preceding the election, which was said by all the leading
 Journals of the State to be largely exaggerated as regard both
 colors. In the a great number of the upper Counties there were thou-
 sands of votes polled more than the exaggerated Census accounted
 for, and nearly all of them were carried by the democrats.
 And the same thing was done in a few of the lower Counties,
 though, not on such large scales. In substantiation of which, we
 may compare the votes of the Counties of Edgefield and Charleston,
 the former democratic the latter republican. While the Census
 gives the latter 21,000 or 22,000 votes, and the former only 7,000
 we find that in Charleston County the number of votes polled
 more than the census accounts for, to be not more than 1500 or 1600
 while in Edgefield County there were over 3,500. Now, it is evi-
 dent that if the fraudulent votes were proportionate in these
 two Counties, Charleston would have polled about 11,000
 votes more than the Census accounts for. We are unable to say
 which side is to blame for such a large increment and for
 such an unbridled and barefaced fraud. But we are willing
 to throw out all the votes in excess of the Census in all the
 the Counties regardless of color, or to throw them out on the col-
 or line and in either case, ^{Mr. Chamberlain} will be far a head of Mr. Hampton.
 But, sir, we are unwilling that the President should abandon our
 rights to the venal Courts of this State, in the face of all the frauds
 we had rather him declare Hampton Governor, for the

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 into the mighty piece of timber, the head of which, it had been
 determined upon to run before the close of the Campaign.
 If you only knew what followed that movement, you would
 doubtless be perplexed with the idea that the boasted civiliza-
 tion of our Country has passed the Zenith of its glory; and
 the majority of the people, especially in the Southern States,
 had returned to a barbarism, brutism and cannibalism
 more vile and blighting in their character, than that found
 in any other part of the world, that sleep itself would take flight
 for many days, and its place would be supplied by the greatest
 anxiety and restlessness in endeavoring to find out the true
 character of our civilization and an appropriate name for
 it. From about the middle of August last until the seventh
 of November, and I might justly add to the present day,
 my people have been driven from their own homes, by the
 fierce assassins in their midnight raids, and in many
 cases they have been brutally murdered, because they re-
 fused to tell the fierce hyenas decked with the forms and
 garments of men, where their loved companions and heart-
 stricken fathers were. The Rifle and Sabre Clubs passed through
 the County of Barnwell during the Campaign, where a
 number of colored laborers were at work in the fields, (I sup-
 pose for the purpose of slaughtering the men) and when they
 could not find them they satiated their rage by the massacre
 of some seventeen or eighteen children. Where colored men have
 bought little places and have not quite completed the payments,
 they have in many instances, been taken from them with-
 out justice or law, and not a cent of the money paid has been re-
 funded, if they refused to follow the dictates of the Democrats.

world ought to know by this time the men who compose
 the republican party in S. Carolina are the poor colored men,
 who have recently emerged from slavery, and can scarcely
 obtain money to buy bread to put into their mouths, much less to
 fight the democrats, who have the fortune amassed by our
 ancestors and us for 250 years, in venal courts. Hampton
 said in the City of Washington a few days since, "that the
 more intelligent class of us is supporting his government,
 which I brand as a bare-faced falsehood, not simply be-
 cause the Honorable gentleman was laboring under a mistake
 but for us to let such a false statement go unrefuted, as would
 disgrace our whole race, is sacrilegious. To say that the few
 bone-polishers, loafers, drunkards, and men who would stoop
 to any low trick rather than honorable work for subsistence
 compose the more intelligent class of my race, is as groundless
 as it is false. Again, Mr. Hampton promises protection
 and equal rights to all the citizens of the State, regardless of color,
 provided, that he obtains undisputed possession of the Govern-
 ship; which promise and pledges I am almost as well prepared to
 carry out as he is; for just as a hungry lion lies still when
 he sees his prey moving in the direction of him, and takes dead
 aim to make his leap sure, so the democrats are waiting
 to hear it announced from the President, or its equivalent
 that Wade Hampton is Governor, and that they satiate their
 vengeance upon the poor, innocent, and helpless colored men.
 In the third place, he says "that the destruction of lives and property
 will cease after he is declared Governor," which is just as
 preposterous as his previous statements. I know that
 the destruction of property, which the republicans may have

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 in as fightful a military attire as possible, belt our Sabres
 about our loins, together with one or two Revolvers,
 shoulder our Rifles; carry our Artillery to every meeting
 that convenience will admit, especially where the
 negroes are expected to be largely congregated; get into large
 crowds and visit all the public places not only to frighten
 and intimidate the hearers, but, the Speakers who will
 meet to address them; we shall threaten and intimidate as
 long as we accomplish any thing by doing such, and
 when that plan fails we shall make some examples.
 We shall not give the negroes anything to do, we shall beat
 everyone up, ^{that} we can, in the way of living, who will
 not do as we shall dictate. I deem it unnecessary to inform
 you that they carried every word of the above into operation
 and ten times as much more. I shall now endeavor to give you a
 few of their examples. They elected the brutal and cannibal
 like M.C. Butler as Commander in chief of the whole
 movement throughout the State (a better choice could not
 have been made for there is no man living, better prepared in
 heart and mind for carrying on such a dirty, heaven-provoking
 work than he). He first put his authority into operation (as he
 had often done before, while acting as leader of the Ku Klux move-
 ment and all other such work), by leading the movement that
 caused the massacre of forty or fifty American citizens in cold
 blood at the Hamburg riot. It has been reported that there were
 not more than eight or nine; but, that is far below the actual
 number, as it usual in every riot that has occurred in this
 State since emancipation. As much as has been said of that
 movement it (the movement) was only the entering of the wedge

brought.
 upon democrats, for the loss of lives, may cease; but, then, all the obstructions shall have removed out of the way, and the stream of death will continue to roll on in a swifter current, and broader channel, and the only difference that will exist between republican and democratic forms of government, is that, the former encourages the revealing of massacres and murders ~~and~~ the latter will punish the person who reveals them. The republicans say the world must know our troubles, the democrats say whatever is done in our house must be kept within doors. Some wear men seem to apprehend danger in the event of the recognition of Mr. Chamberlain by the President; but, there will not be as much as there was, ~~is~~ ~~the~~ when the electoral commission declared Mr. Hayes President. Should the President declare Mr. Chamberlain Governor, the democratic party would be torn into atoms, for, not only has the majority of the colored men, who supported the democrats, expressed and showed their regret, but, also, numbers of the whites said that no inducement will ever lead them again to support the democratic party, which declaration they will adhere to, unless, it is dominant in the event of which, it will be useless for any other party to run in the State. It is rumored here, that the President discontinue the Status quo, and leave the contending parties to settle their own difficulties; which will be the grandest mistake that he could make. To leave it to the contending parties to settle their own differences, is to open new fields for wholesale murder. Sir, I cannot continue this history indefinitely, but I fancy that I have given you enough that you may probably form an idea of the true condition of this State. Sir, I desire you to understand

carcass of the man seducing, devil-devising, God-condemning
 Democratic Party, which he himself has learned from
 experience bought as dearly as any has ever been, since
 the fall of our common parent from the lovely garden of Eden.
 In efforts, which the Democratic Party has put forth to deprive
 us of our rights, it had exhausted all the ingenuity and skill,
 as it seemed, that a satanic majesty could give a foul mind,
 until the commencement of the Campaign, when one
 Colonel Ferguson, purported to have come from Missis-
 sippi; but whom rational men would more reasonably
 believe to have come as a special agent of the King of Hades,
 visited nearly every City and Town Hall in the whole State
 during last Spring and Summer, taught the Democrats
 how they carried the election in Mississippi, during the
 previous year, what do you think was his plan? Civilized
 men will scarcely believe when they are informed that,
 that man taught the white people of this State to form
 Sabre, Rifle and Artillery Clubs, as the groundwork
 of a wicked scheme to carry this State for Tilden, Hamp-
 ton and I might add if modesty did not forbid, for
 the Devil himself. If I did not suppose that you would
 be somewhat perplexed in endeavoring to think out the
 utility of such a plan, I would pass it by with the
 above description, But they said that, "the main object of the
 plan was to throw all the negroes into terror, frighten them
 from the polls," and thereby carry the State for the above
 named leaders. They were repeatedly asked how were they to
 accomplish their object, and the reply of the unguarded
 was as follows: "We are going to dress in red shirts and get

that no other feeling, prompts me to pen you this letter than this, that you
 have defended the cause of my poor, oppressed race in this United States
 without ever having asked any remuneration either in money or
 suffrage from it. And, now, I have for a long time waited for some
 true hero to paint the true situation here, who is better prepared than
 I am, that you ~~together~~ with all our old, ^{and} brave defenders and
 benefactors, might form some just opinion of our sufferings ^{and wrongs}.
 But, alas! I have waited and hoped in vain, so I take it upon myself
 to paint it as best I can, though, I have not been engaged in the
 political circles. I have given you what I believe to be the wishes
 of nine tenths of my people. Although, I know that my letter will
 be greatly criticised and condemned by some, yet, I cannot sit
 in silence, while so many unjust imputations are hurled at
 my people without a line of denial. As one of them who has been
 elevated little above the masses, I would be so much the more dis-
 graceful too, and unworthy of them were I to allow such. Though it may
 endanger my life yet, if you think it necessary publish this letter,
 and let the world condemn it, as it suits its peculiar approval or disap-
 proval. Though some of these descriptions may seem incredible, believe
 every word to be just and true. In conclusion, sir, we feel greatly grieved
 at the instability of the President, and the tardiness of his actions, ^{and}
 if reports are true, we feel that we would have greatly benefitted our-
 selves by voting for Mr. Tilden, for, long since, he would have
 declared Hampton Governor, at all hazards, and we would not have
 been kept in such a long suspense, for what by the apparent action of the
 President will finally, result in a democratic triumph.
 I remain believing myself as ever to be one of the objects of the solicitude ^{and} care
 of your long and noble life.

Columbia, S.C. 5th April, 1877. } Geo. W. Murray - University of So. Carolina
 Columbia S.C.

April 5 / 77.

To Hon. William Lloyd Garrison

Honored sir,

As I am laboring under the impression that you, having devoted the labors of a long, noble ^{and} brilliant life, in the cause of humanity ^{and} of God, namely the freedom ^{and} equality of all men, regardless of color, would take great pleasure in learning the true condition of affairs in this State from one of the objects of your chief anxiety ^{and} life's labors, accordingly, I avail myself of this opportunity to give you a true history of the political affairs of this State, both what we have to undergo for maintaining our principles ^{and} what we shall be subjected to in the event of the unwarranted, humiliating ^{and} brutal recognition of Wade Hampton as Governor of this State. Now, to give you a full history of the political condition of this State, would have to go back ^{and} commence with emancipation itself, but time fails me ^{and} the long, painful, bloody, ^{and} unprecedented history would weary your patience ^{and} sicken your heart. Therefore, I shall content myself with giving you a history of the political condition of this State, commencing with the late Campaign, ^{and} ending with date. The two political parties that the settlement of Rebellion brought into being, have contended with scarcely any change in principle, until, before the commencement of last Campaign; when Gov. Chamberlain being one of the leaders of the Republican Party, dazzled by the flattery ^{and} usual empty promises of the Democrats, severed the ranks of the Republican Party ^{and} blew break into the almost lifeless